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ABSTRACT

The materials contained in this document provide the instructional framework for a course on contemporary ideologies and rhetorical strategies in political discourse. The following materials are included: a speech outlining and defining the area of study called political communication, a theoretical and methodological approach for understanding the way in which symbols and politics are related; a course syllabus which explains the course objectives, lists the required and recommended textbooks for the course, and outlines a course schedule; sample handouts which have been used as instructional aids during lectures or as the bases for class discussions; and a bibliography which parallels the topic and lecture order of the course syllabus. (RB)

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"TEACHING POLITICAL PERSUASION--
A SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND MESSAGE-CENTERED PROCEDURE"

James W. Chesebro

Paper Read at the Central States Speech Association Convention

April 4, 1974

The attached materials provided the instructional framework for a course entitled, "Political Discourse: Contemporary Ideologies and Rhetorical Strategies" taught by James W. Chesebro in the Department of Speech, Temple University, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, during Spring Semester 1974.

The materials include:

1. A Course Syllabus
2. A Bibliography
3. Sample Handouts

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CS 500 780

TEACHING POLITICAL PERSUASION--
A SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND MESSAGE-CENTERED PERSPECTIVE

James W. Chesebro

At the very outset of this paper, I feel an obligation to specify the scope of this analysis. I cannot deal with all modes of teaching political persuasion. In our department at Temple, for example, five courses define our undergraduate political communication sequence. A message-centered social movements approach is but one such course; it is not the only approach; it can only be viewed as one meaningful and useful approach. Moreover, I do not feel time permits a detailed description of how a message-centered social movements course could be structured in terms of content, assignments, and teaching methods. I have provided a fairly hefty handout which does provide examples of all of these issues.

What I would like to offer in this paper is an overview of political communication which is especially useful to those planning and teaching a course in this area. In particular, I would:

(1) Argue that political communication is emerging as a respectable research and teaching area. To do so, I will trace the evolution of political communication among political scientists.

(2) Offer a definition of political communication. In so doing, I would argue that political communication should be viewed as an interdisciplinary area of research and teaching, housed in neither speech-communication nor political science, and that political communication is a distinct theoretical and methodological approach to our understanding of the way in which symbols and politics are related.[1]

(3) Briefly offer an overview of how a message-centered social movements teaching approach would deal with political communication.

I

Political communication is gaining recognition as a potent determinant and dimension of political force, power, and authority. Consider, for example, the way in which political scientists have gradually turned toward a communication view of politics. Professional awareness of the role of communication in politics arose during World War II; propaganda efforts and the manipulation of public opinion functioned as the central framework for research.[2] As this "propaganda" approach lost favor within political science, increasing attention was paid to the channels or media of communication as the focal point for research.[3] Communication media continue to intrigue political scientists.[4] However, in 1966, political scientists Roseman, Mayo, and Collinger (reflecting a more profound conception of the role of communication in politics occurring among political scientists) argued, in their book Dimensions of Political Analysis, that:

> The communications process has only recently been explored as a topic of import in political science. Professional awareness...turned [first] to Axis propaganda [during World War II]... The concern has [now] turned instead to the more basic conception that the communication process is the fundamental medium of social interaction among humans.[5]

Correspondingly, Roseman, et. al., give as much time and space to the concept of communication as they do to the concept of power.[6] From the mid-1960s on, of course, political communication has gained even greater attention in political science. In 1969, in their book Political Communication, Harold D. Lasswell and Satish Arora offered their landmark study of the role of elite in political communication.[7] In his 1971 book Politics as Symbolic Action, Murray Edelman broaden the conception of political communication and offered what we in speech-communication would call a "dramatistic" view of political communication.[8] Jack Dennis, in 1973, cast the family, the school, and the mass media as communication systems, and he argued they were the primary agencies of political socialization.[9] Thus, political communication has emerged as a major area of research within political science, and it is viewed more and more as a major determinant of

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political processes and outcomes.[10]

II

Yet, as a theoretical, methodological, applied, and teaching area, the very concept of political communication remains ambiguous in both speech-communication and political science. Given the host of competing views, one must be cautious in defining political communication. However, there does appear to be a common feature among these diverse views, which might be stated thus: Political communication is the study of the communication patterns which reflect and create dominant and subordinate relationships. Not having attained the status of a professional discipline at this point in time, political communication is predominantly an interdisciplinary area of research, housed in neither political science nor speech-communication.[11]

Consider, for a moment, why the theoretical approaches of both speech-communication and political science force us to view political communication as an interdisciplinary area (not a discipline) of research. Within speech-communication, a politician is predominantly treated as an orator, an orator attempting to control outcomes with a particular audience.[12] This perspective of a politician is severely limited for those specializing in political communication. In the context of political communication, a politician must be viewed as an authority addressing multiple audiences simultaneously, attempting to trade-off or balance the competing interests of multiple groups. A detailed study, then, of the communication pattern established between an authority and a single audience would reveal only a small portion of the overall set of communication patterns which establish political authority. Likewise, in the context of political communication, it is incidential if a politician achieves an intent with a particular group. More central to those specializing in political communication is the way the authority's method of resolving the competing demands of multiple groups operationally defines and alters democratic structures, processes, and

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values of the entire society.[13] For example, those who cluster only within speech-communication are likely to ask if one of Nixon's Watergate speeches improves his standing with organized labor. In political communication, on the other hand, a person would: (1) Treat organized labor as only one of many groups demanding different resolutions of the Watergate Affair; and (2) Ask how Nixon's treatment of these various groups has altered the democratic structures, processes, and values. On a theoretical level, then, political communication is the study of the patterns of communication used by authorities and interest groups to establish, maintain, and change dominant/subordinate relationships. Political communication, in this sense, is a study of how these communication patterns reinforce and alter the basic fabric of democracy.[14]

Political scientists are equally restrictive in the way in which they deal with politicians. Politics is predominantly treated as the exercise of force or power to secure a dominant role.[15] Yet, as governments have become more participatory,[16] force and power are unreasonable modes of control. Politics must be viewed as the exercise of authority[17] or the ability to influence and manipulate multiple groups simultaneously.[18] Few political scientists have been willing to make this adjustment. Thus, political communication remains outside of both political science and speech-communication. It does, however, function as an interdisciplinary research area. It views communication patterns among various interest groups as central to understanding political authority. In this regard, political communication is a distinct theoretical and methodological research and teaching area.

III

Given these conceptions of political communication, it is appropriate to ask how the critic and teacher describes, interprets, and evaluates the political communication process. I have already argued here that politics is profoundly an influential and manipulative process. Correspondingly, politics may be appropriately

viewed as a thoroughly rhetorical phenomenon, justifiably viewed therefore through the conceptual components and relationships established by most communication models. I further assume that when rhetoricians speak of the communication process, they emphasis the organismic[19] nature of the process. Yet, analytic perspectives of the process are often useful. In this regard, some rhetoricians focus upon speakers, receivers, channels, codes, or situations as a point of view for describing any communication process. Other rhetoricians choose to highlight the message itself as an important communication component. Each of these focal points functions only as a perspective for examining all of the other communication components. In this context, a message-centered perspective may be employed to explicate the dimensions of political communication, and used effectively to teach political persuasion courses.

Yet, politics is more than a rhetorical event; it is also a collective effort. Politics is predominantly a study of how one group affects and is affected by another group or groups. Put another way: Agents join forces, for both social and pragmatic reasons, to accomplish political ends. It would appear eminently sensible that any critical and teaching scheme proporting to examine politics from a communication view must account, consequently, for the collective or shared nature of political action.

In essence, a message-centered social movement approach to political communication would posit the centrality of the message and social movement as interlocking dimensions for viewing all other components and relationships in the political communication process. Let me first identify the message-centered perspective and then suggest how the message-centered perspective becomes a richer analytic base when merged with a social movement perspective.

A message-centered perspective holds that ideas are a major component and basis for understanding the political communication process. Ideas, in this sense, may be treated as indications of policy positions asserted by an advocate. Furthermore, the message-centered perspective posits that these ideas or policies are revealed through propositions formed from complete thoughts, with the (oral or written) sentence as its basic unit.[20] Put another way, the message-centered perspective suggests that speeches are an important way of understanding what politicians perceive and seek.

Yet, the decision to treat ideas within a message as verbal policies is but a preliminary step in the message-centered perspective. A critic and teacher would also profitably ask what view of reality is implicitly conveyed by the advocate of such a policy. Correspondingly, four questions are likely to be useful in capturing the "rhetorical vision"[21] of an advocate:

1. What diverse sets of audiences are indirectly assumed by such a policy (particularly noting who is cast as the salient authority figure and who are viewed as relevant competing interest groups)?

2. What types of media are apparently perceived as necessary to execute a policy?

3. What conception of the social situation is implicitly asserted as "reality" for the advocate?

4. What image is created for the advocate by such a policy.[22]

Of course, a method or procedure must be used by the critic and teacher in order to offer such an intrinsic analysis of a message. Caroline Hamsher and I have recently explicated such a procedure in a November 1973 Speech Teacher article entitled, "Rhetorical Criticism: A Message-Centered Procedure."[23] I cannot summarize the entire procedure here. However, I might briefly note that such a procedure involves at least three steps:

1. The critic and teacher identifies key words within the message, allowing the context of the message to guide the identification of key words.

2. Having extracted the central symbols of the discourse, the critic determines the way in which key words group together into stages. At this point, the critic is identifying how the key words are unified as tactics in the message. The first tactic generally provides a context for a second major tactic, leading to a third tactic. The critic/teacher thereby has noted the major strategic stages of the work.

3. The critic/teacher labels the overall progression of the message. The attempt is to offer an entitlement term which reflects the policy being advocated and the tactics used within the message to support that policy as well as the advocate's view of reality. Edwin Black suggests, for example, that the Radical Right is best entitled as a movement controlled by a "cancer of communism" metaphor. The "cancer of communism" metaphor, in Black's view, accounts for the kinds of policies advocated by the Radical Right, the way in which reactionaries argue for those policies, and the world-view held by the Radical Right.[24] In political contexts, the entitlement term may well be viewed as the ideological position of the advocate, and the critic/teacher may wish to entitle messages with an eye to the labels commonly used to describe such a message in political circles.

While these three steps are helpful in teasing out all dimensions of a rhetorical vision, a message functions in a real context. A message must be assessed in terms of its actual function for others. If one is "effects" oriented, one is likely to ask to what degree and how a message mobilized the support of others in concretizing the policy, paying particular attention to the way in which the message affected and was affected by other interest groups, the situation, the media employed, and existing political principles. If one has an "ethical" orientation, a person is likely to ask how consistent a message

is with the existing social, cultural, and political ideas of society. A message-centered perspective, then, shifts the critic from an intrinsic examination of the rhetorical vision expressed by an advocate in her or his message to an extrinsic assessment of the role of that rhetorical vision in the larger society. Political actions, embodied as they often are in verbage, are especially susceptiable to message-centered analyses.

Yet, message-centered analyses of political communication are enriched by social movement perspectives. The concept of a social movement highlights the collective or shared nature of political acts. Definitions of social movements vary, often highlighting the hierarchical relationship between leaders and followers or the sense of alienation which exist between members of movements and the established political system. While such sociological and psychological conceptions are often useful, a more profoundly rhetorical definition of a movement is especially useful in dealing with political communication. From a rhetorical perspective and message-centered perspective, a social movement exists when advocates espouse essentially the same message in the same way. In other words, interest groups may be treated as rhetorical movements and distinct communication systems when their members say the same thing in the same way.[25] Note, that a message-centered analysis of a host of messages would provide one procedure for determining which advocates can be classified as part of a single communication system. While we may not agree with his particular groupings, William Gamson's analysis in Power and Discontent provides a fairly vivid example of the way in which a message-centered social movements approach may be used to examine political communication.[26] Gamson posits that three major interest groups exist. Based upon their central ideological position and the way in which they advocate that position with authority figures, Gamson argues that one group is appropriately entitled the elites and are characterized by their use of persuasion as a dominant strategy. A second group is political neutral and tends

to employ inducement as its mode of interaction. A third group, the alienated, employ threats as a rhetorical form. Thus, the content and form of a group's message functions as the prime definitional base for such conceptions of political communication. A message-centered social movements approach is one perspective which allows the critic and teacher to conceive of political communication in this way.

Obviously, the approach must also allow the critic and teacher to deal with even more complex forms of collective behavior. I would posit, for example, that three kinds of communication may exist among interest groups. First, the interaction may be confrontational in which case we are likely to call the challenging group a movement and the more traditional group the establishment. Second, distinct groups may initiate relatively cooperative or manipulative relationships in order to secure their policy objectives, in which case we are likely to observe that a political campaign is in progress. Third, groups may not interact at all; political groups may enter incubation periods (as Bernard L. Brock has called them), because they believe silence to be the most appropriate strategy, or because they have made ideological or tactical errors in previous interactions, or because they have yet to overcome those variables producing apathy among its potential membership. Each of these kinds of communicative interactions provides a broad framework for research programs within political communication.

While one might use any number of approaches to deal with political interactions, a message-centered social movements approach would seem to offer a reasonable critical and pedagogical base for insightful analyses of political communication. The approach can be effectively translated, as I believe my handout suggests, into a meaningful course in a speech-communication curriculum.

Footnotes

James W. Chesebro is Assistant Professor, Department of Speech, Temple University.

[1]I have detailed the five major ways in which those in political communication discuss the relationships between symbols and power elsewhere; see: James W. Chesebro, "Theoretical Approaches to Political Communication," paper read at the Eastern Communication Association Convention, Washington, D.C., March 21, 1974.

[2]For various examples of this approach (as a result of both World War I and World War II), see: Harwood L. Childs, Propganda and Dictatorship (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1936); Leonard W. Doob, Public Opinion and Propaganda (New York: Henry Holt, 1948); Edward Hunter, Brain-Washing in Red China (New York: Vanguard, 1951); Harold D. Lasswell, Propaganda Technique in the World War (New York: Knopf, 1927); Frederick E. Lumley, The Propaganda Menace (New York: Century, 1933); and Terrence H. Qualter, Propaganda and Psychological Warfare (New York: Random House, 1962).

[3]The most direct and compelling analysis of the relationship between media and politics (during this period) was provided by Joseph T. Klapper, The Effects of Mass Communication (New York: Free Press, 1960). For an excellent case study approach to the relationship between a medium and politics, see: Bernard Rubin, Political Television (Belmont: Wadsworth, 1967). A convenient summary of political socializati n research as a function of media is provided by William C. Mitchell, "The Socialization of American Citizens," in Dimensions of Political Analysis: An Introduction to the Contemporary Study of Politics, ed. by Cyril Roseman, Charles G. Mayo, and F. B. Collinge (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1966), pp. 267-276.

[4]See, for example, Richard L. Merritt, "Political Science: An Approach to Human Communication," in Approaches to Human Communication, ed. by Richard W. Budd and Brent D. Ruben (New York: Spartan, 1972), pp. 313-333, although Merritt's

conception of a communication medium is extremely sophisticated and allows him to relate media and politics in more complex (and thereby appropriate) ways.

[5]Cyril Roseman, Charles G. Mayo, and F. D. Collinge, Dimensions of Political Analysis, p. 253.

[6]Roseman, Mayo, and Collinge, pp. 196-252 and 253-293.

[7]Satish K. Arora and Harold D. Lasswell, Political Communication: The Public Language of Political Elites in India and the United States (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1969).

[8]Murray Edelman, Politics as Symbolic Action: Mass Arousal & Quiescence (Chicago: Markham, 1971). Also, see: Murray Edelman, The Symbolic Uses of Politics (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1967); and Richard M. Merelman, "The Dramaturgy of Politics," The Sociological Quarterly, 10 (Spring 1969), 216-241.

[9]Jack Dennis, Socialization to Politics (New York: John Wiley, 1973), pp. 321-423.

[10]I am not at all convinced that it is theoretically meaningful to distinguish processes and outcomes. In my view, an outcome is simply an arbitrary description of a process at a given point in time or an arbitrary assertion that a given set of interactions (processes) have realized or achieved a goal. Processes continue after outcomes or goals are identified. Only if we recognize the arbitrary uses of the terms outcomes and processes and are fully aware that processes and outcomes are not temporally related (processes do not always precede outcomes) does it seem to make sense to use the terms. Unfortunately, too many studies have assumed that processes end when the concept of an outcome is fixed by a researcher.

[11]Political communication is implicitly recognized as a potential interdisciplinary research area by Stephen L. Wasby, "Rhetoricians and Political Scientists: Some Lines of Converging Interest," The Southern Speech Journal, 36 (Spring 1971), 231-242. An extremely sophisticated application of both the

principles of speech-communication and political science is provided by Mullins as he conceives of the concept of ideology; see: Willard A. Mullins, "On the Concept of Ideology in Political Science," The American Political Science Review, 66 (June 1972), 498-510.

[12]Speech-communication scholars have traditionally been concerned with a particular speaker's ability to achieve his/her intent with a particular audience; success as a speaker is generally determined by whether a speaker achieves a previously specified effect with an immediate audience. See: Herbert A. Whichelns, "The Literary Criticism of Oratory," in The Rhetorical Idiom: Essays in Rhetoric, Oratory, Language, and Drama, ed. by Donald C. Bryant (New York: Russell & Russell, 1966), pp. 5-42; Lester Thonssen, A. Craig Baird, and Waldo W. Braden, Speech Criticism, 2nd. ed. (New York: Ronald Press, 1970).

[13]A superior articulation of the implications of assessing communication from the context of the entire society is provided by Thomas R. Nilsen, "Criticism and Social Consequences," Quarterly Journal of Speech, 42 (April 1956), 173-178.

[14]One of the most convenient methods of assessing and evaluating the way in which an authority affects multiple groups simultaneously is to ask how consistent authority's actions are with democratic processes, structures, and values. I assume that ultimately those specializing in political communication must assess authority in the context of the entire political system as a whole.

[15]Two of the most forceful and concise assessments of political scientists in this regard are provided by Daniel Bell, "Twelve Modes of Prediction--A Preliminary Sorting of Approaches in the Social Sciences," Daedalus, 93 (Summer 1964), 846, and Heinz Eulau, "H.D. Lasswell's Developmental Analysis," Western Political Quarterly, 11 (June 1958), 229.

[16]The increasingly participatory nature of world governments is described and quantified by Jean Blondel, Comparing Political Systems (New York: Praeger, 1972), especially Part III, pp. 155-242 and the Appendix, pp. 243-248.

[17]I assume that politics may be conceived as the exercise of force, power, or authority. A detailed discussion of these distinctions is provided by Robert Boguslaw, The New Utopians: A Study of System Design and Social Change (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1965), p. 189. In a larger context, politics itself may be viewed as those situations in which an agent(s) functions as a decision-maker for others without legal precedents; see: Karl Mannheim, Ideology and Utopia (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1936), p. 105. Because of the dispersal of force and power (the increase in participatory nation-states), an influential or manipulative relationship (authority) primarily exists between leaders and interest groups; see: Peter Amann, "Revolution: A Redefinition," Political Science Quarterly, 77 (1962), 36-53, and Carl Leiden and Karl M. Schmitt, "The Ideology of Revolution," The Politics of Violence: Revolution in the Modern World (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1968), 97-112.

[18]I have tended to discuss political control only from the standpoint of those in authority. In no way, however, do I mean to suggest that this conception of political communication cannot be used to examine communication patterns from the standpoint or frame of reference of a particular interest group. In such a context, an interest group would ask what patterns of communication they ought to initiate to secure certain awards with a given authority, how to block the patterns of communication between an authority and other interest groups, how to maximize a particular pattern of communication between an authority and another interest group (when it is in their self-interest to do so), and to comparatively assess the rewards of their own patterns of communication against the patterns employed by other interest groups. I have used (up to this point in the analysis) the concept of an interest group to describe shared collective efforts; more precisely (as I argue later), political communication analyses should replace the concept of interest groups with the concept of rhetorical genres in order to more accurately reflect politics as the exercise of authority rather than force or power

which is implied by the use of the term "interest groups." In this view, then, politics is most appropriately viewed as a study of influence and manipulation necessitating that authority and rhetorical genres displace the traditional concepts of force, power, and interest groups.

[19]See, Dennis R. Smith, and Lawrence Kearney, "Organismic Concepts in the Unification of Rhetoric and Communication," Quarterly Journal of Speech, 59 (February 1973), 30-39.

[20]See: Karlyn Kohrs Campbell, Critiques of Contemporary Rhetoric (Belmont: Wadworth, 1972), pp. 2-4.

[21]The concept of a rhetorical vision is developed and illustrated by Ernest G. Bormann; see: Ernest G. Bormann, "The Eagleton Affair: A Fantasy Theme Analysis," Quarterly Journal of Speech, 59 (April 1973), 143-159.

[22]These questions are derived from Kenneth Burke's work with the pentad; see: Kenneth Burke, A Grammar of Motives and a Rhetoric of Motives (Cleveland: Meridan, 1962), p. xvii.

[23]James W. Chesebro and Caroline D. Hamsher, "Rhetorical Criticism: A Message-Centered Procedure," The Speech Teacher, 22 (November 1973), 282-290.

[24]Edwin Black, "The Second Persona," Quarterly Journal of Speech, 56 (April 1970), 109-119.

[25]I have developed this view of a movement in more detail elsewhere; see: James W. Chesebro, "Cultures in Conflict--A Generic and Axiological View," paper read at the Speech Communication Association Convention, November 1973.

[26]William Gamson, Power and Discontent (Homewood, Illinois: Dorsey Press, 1968).

COURSE SYLLABUS

OS 500 780

POLITICAL DISCOURSE: CONTEMPORARY IDEOLOGIES AND RHETORICAL STRATEGIES

Instructor: Dr. James W. Chesebro
Office: Second Floor, Department of Speech, 1908 North Park Mall
Office Telephone: 787-7540
Office Hours: 1:30 to 2:30 MWF

Course Objectives

1. Provide exposure to the wide range and sets of constructs and critical models which offer logical and coherent ways of examining political communication. Each model generally provides a useful way of increasing the amount of meaning and information any individual can process regarding politics and communication. Moreover, exposure to a multitude of political communication models should allow you to see political communication from several different perspectives as well as providing a critical view of the limits of each model.

2. Develop a critical perspective ultimately allowing you to systematically describe, interpret and evaluate the symbolic implications of political interactions and institutions.

3. Develop an appreciation and understanding of the intimate relationships which unite politics and communication. In terms of academic disciplines, then, the course is interdisciplinary uniting the disciplines of speech-communication and political science. Ultimately, the course should provide a perspective which will allow you to deal with both speech-communication and politics simultaneously.

Textbooks for the Course

Required:

1. Frederick W. Watkins, The Age of Ideology--Political Thought, 1750 to the Present (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1964).
2. Karlyn Kohrs Campbell, Critiques of Contemporary Rhetoric (Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, Inc., 1972).
3. L. Patrick Devlin, Contemporary Political Speaking (Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, Inc., 1971).
4. Murray Edelman, Politics as Symbolic Action (Chicago: Markham Publishing Co., 1971).
5. Moments in Contemporary Rhetoric and Communication, Fall 1972 issue.

Recommended:

1. The Radical Papers, introduction by Irving Howe (Garden City: Anchor Books/Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1966).
2. The Liberal Papers, introduction by James Roosevelt (Garden City: Anchor Books/Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1962).
3. The Conservative Papers, introduction by Mel in R. Laird (Garden City: Anchor Books/Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1964).
4. The Radical Right, edited by Daniel Bell (Garden City: Anchor Books/Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1964).
5. The Liberal Tradition in American Thought, selected and edited by Walter E. Volkomer (New York: Capricorn Books, 1969).
6. The Conservative Tradition in American Thought, selected and edited by Jay A. Sigler (New York Capricorn Books, 1969).

Course Schedule

UNIT I: THE CRITICAL PERSPECTIVE

Week I--

September 10: Introduction to the Course.

September 12: Politics and Symbols; Read: The handout entitled "Politics as Symbolization" and Edelman, pp. 1-83.

September 14: Defining Ideology; Read: The handout entitled "Ways of Defining the term Ideology: A Survey of Contemporary Views" and Watkins, Preface and Chapter 1.

Week II--

September 17: Defining Ideology.

September 19: Defining Rhetoric; Read: Campbell, Chapters I through III, the handout entitled "The Interpretative Metaphor," and review Edelman, Chapter 5.

September 21: Doing Rhetorical Criticism; Read: The handout entitled "Rhetorical Criticism--A Message-Centered Perspective" and Campbell, pp. 7-110.

Week III--

September 24: Defining and Determining a Genre; Read: The handout "The Rhetoric of Women's Liberation: An Oxymoron."

September 26: Course Requirements discussed in the context of "The Critical Perspective."

September 28: No formal class. Individual conferences with instructor in his office related to projects each student plans to undertake.

UNIT II: THE TRADITIONAL VIEW OF POLITICAL COMMUNICATION

Week IV--

October 1: Methods for Distinguishing the Four Traditional Political Positions.

October 3: Methods for Distinguishing the Four Traditional Political Positions.

October 5: An Overview of the Ideologies and Strategies of the Four Political Positions.

Week V--

October 8: The Evolution of Radicalism; Read: Watkins, Chapters VI, IX and X; Recommended Reading: Howe.

October 10: The Evolution of Radicalism.

October 12: Strategies of the Radical; Read: Campbell, Chapters V, VIII, X, and XI.

Week VI--

October 15: The Evolution of Liberalism; Read: Watkins, Chapters II, III and VII; Recommended Reading: Roosevelt and/or Volkomer.

October 17: The Evolution of Liberalism.

October 19: Strategies of the Liberal; Read: Campbell, Chapters VIII and IX.

Week VII--

October 22: The Evolution of Conservatism; Read: Watkins, Chapter IV; Recommended Reading: Laird and/or Sigler.

October 24: The Evolution of Conservatism.

October 26: Strategies of the Conservative; Read: Campbell, Chapters IV and XII.

Week VIII--

October 29: The Evolution of the Reactionary; Read: Watkins, Chapters VIII and XI; Recommended Reading: Bell.

October 31: The Evolution of the Reactionary.

November 2: Strategies of the Reactionary; Read: Campbell, Chapter VI.

Week IX--

November 5: Transactions Among the Four Traditional Political Positions; Read: Moments.

November 7: Predicting Presidential Campaign Outcomes.

November 9: The End of Ideology Debate; Read: Watkins, Chapter XII.

UNIT III: NEW CONCEPTIONS OF POLITICAL COMMUNICATION

Week X--

November 12: The New Politics.

November 14: The New Populism.

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November 16: Image vs Issue Politics.

Week XI--

November 19: The Moderate and the True Believer.

November 21: The Establishment/Counter-Culture Confrontation; Recommended Reading: James W. Chesebro, "Cultures in Conflict--A Generic and Axiological View," Today's Speech, 21 (Spring 1973), 11-20; and James W. Chesebro, "Rhetorical Strategies of the Radical Revolutionary," Today's Speech 20 (Winter 1972), 37-48.

Week XII--

November 26: Sexual Politics.

November 28: The Rhetoric of Black Power.

November 30: The Silent Politics.

Week XIII--

December 3: Revolution and Counter Revolution.

December 5: (open period)

December 7: (open period)

Week XIV--

December 10: (open period)

December 12: (open period)

Open periods are structured into the course schedule so that new conceptions in political communication can be easily introduced into the course during the semester. In addition, the open periods would allow us to deal with contemporary issues in politics from a communications perspective. For example, we may decide to examine the Watergate Affair from a communication/rhetorical perspective. These are considered "open" periods and student input regarding the way in which this time is spent is essential.

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Course Requirements

You will be required to complete two term papers for this course. Paper I is due at the beginning of the class period on November 5. Paper II is due at the beginning of the final examination period scheduled for this course and must be handed to the instructor for this course in his office at this time. There will be no midterm or final examination in this course.

Paper I should provide a rhetorical analysis of one of the speeches found in L. Patrick Devlin's Contemporary Political Speaking. The rhetorical analysis should meet the standards for good rhetorical criticism identified in the article by James W. Chesebro and Caroline D. Hamsher, "Rhetorical Criticism--A Message-Centered Procedure," The Speech Teacher, 22 (September 1973). Your analysis should also satisfy all common academic standards in terms of conception, style, evidence, clarity of presentation, and footnoting. The rhetorical analyses offered by Karlyn K. Campbell in her book Critiques of Contemporary Rhetoric constitute superior examples of good rhetorical criticism in this regard and ought to function as the models for your criticism--I would highly recommend that you carefully read all of Campbell's rhetorical analyses before working on Paper I.

Paper II should provide a rhetorical analysis of a political genre. The genre you select is entirely up to you. We shall be offering rhetorical analyses of political genres such as radicals, liberals, conservatives, reactionaries, the counter culture, and image and issue politicians in class. In addition, the handout by Karlyn K. Campbell, "The Rhetoric of Women's Liberation: An Oxymoron," is a superior example of a rhetorical analysis of a political genre. You should describe, interpret and evaluate the ideology and strategies of the political genre you select. You may also find it necessary to argue in the paper that you are, in fact, dealing with a distinct or unique political genre which has a unique ideology and set of strategies not found in other groupings of politicians. Paper II should also meet all standards for good rhetorical criticism and academic scholarship mentioned in the above paragraphs.

Both Paper I and Paper II should be typed and double-spaced. Paper I will constitute 1/3 of your grade for the course and Paper II will constitute the remaining 2/3 of your grade.

SAMPLE HANDOUTS USED FOR POLITICAL DISCOURSE

The handouts which follow have been used as instructional aids during lectures or as the bases for class discussions. These are representative of the kinds of handouts which can be developed for such a course.

CS 500 780

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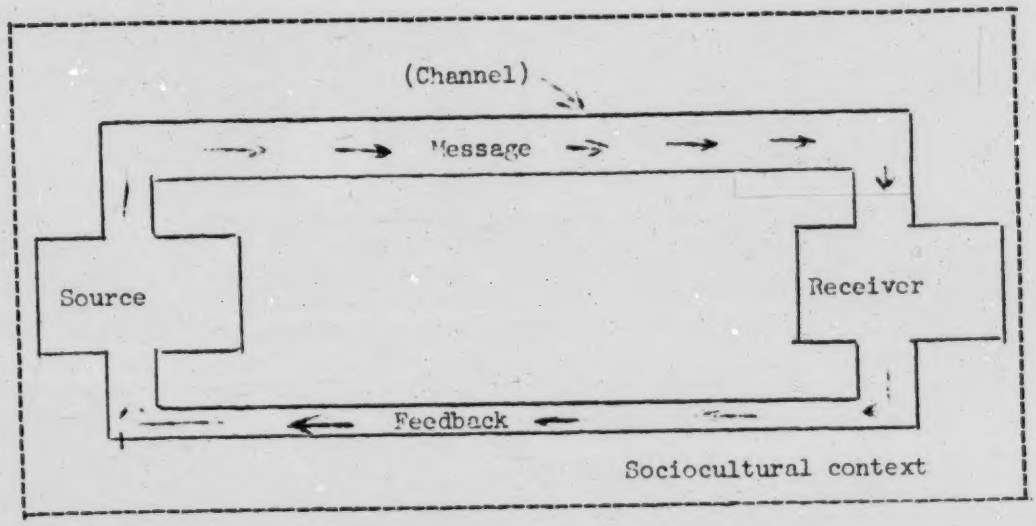
Political Communication as a Process

I. A communication model as a method of viewing political change, stability, processes (cooperation and conflict), and outcomes:



II. Politics and communication:

A. Source--candidates, campaign headquarters, distaff (wives), party headquarters and defenders, "information leaks."

B. Message--policy proposals, attitudes toward others, and attitudes self and campaign.

C. Channel--mass media (TV, radio, press), government agencies, personal appearances, position papers, noted spokespersons for the candidate and/or party.

D. Receivers--campaign headquarters and its true believers, the party members (leaders and followers), independents, nonvoters, opposition party.

E. Sociocultural context--environmental factors which create issues independent of who is in office.

F. Feedback--reactions of party, opinion polls, mass media editorials, primaries, how and what is considered "news."

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SPEECH 181

Politics as Symbolization

The course is entitled by the phrase, "Political Discourse." I suggested that the phrase linguistically united two areas, power and persuasion. Insofar as politics is the pursuit and exercise of power and discourse is inherently concerned with meanings, especially communicative implications for others, it does not seem unreasonable to say that the phrase "Political Discourse" united power and persuasion. While one may grant the linguistic union implied by the phrase, then, it is still important to ask what the cognitive or semantic implications are of uniting power and persuasion. Edelman seems to think that there is important cognitive implications in the union--he argues that politics can be viewed as symbolic action. Yet, one can still ask what it means to say the two concepts are related. One can ask if power can be viewed as a symbol and ask if power is only a symbol. To what degree, then, is it meaningful to say that power is symbolic action? Several stances might be adopted. Consider the stances below. Which stance do you believe is true? Why? Is there any stance you would clearly reject? Why?

1. Symbols are only ornaments men use--perhaps for aesthetic purposes or to satisfy other needs--but power is clearly distinct from symbols. Power is the ability to influence others to gain our own ends. In this regard, Machiavelli is right in suggesting that those holding power have it because of the force of arms (superior strength), tradition or heredity, good fortune, or special ability. A symbol, however, is only a sign of a thing. Symbols in politics can only be meaningful if there is thing or power behind the symbols. Given this view, we might as well forget about symbols and deal only with power itself as force, the threat of force, tradition, heredity, good fortune, or special ability if we are to explain how some people can get others to influence others to gain their own ends in politics. In other words, the determinant of politics is force (in its many forms), not symbols.

2. Symbols are a reflection and cue to understanding power. In this regard, symbols are helpful insofar as they alert us to power. Symbols are important to us, then, if we are to engage in politics because they function somewhat as warning signs or "future shock" icons.

3. Power is important. Symbols are important. We use and need both to operate government. In fact, power and symbols--in combination--determine what reality is. As Kenneth Burke has noted:

> "...the vocabulary itself...is a way of sizing up reality.... The ideal magic is that in which the assertion (or verbal decree) as to the nature of the situation comes closest to the correct gauging of that situation as it actually is."

Or as Burke has put it in another situation:

> "'Action' by all means. But in a complex world, there are many kinds of actions. Action requires programs--programs require vocabulary. To act wisely, in concert, we must use many words. If we use the wrong words, words that divide up the field inadequately, we obey false cues. We must name the friendly and unfriendly functions and relationships in such a way that we are able to do something about them."

4. Politics can be viewed as a form of symbolic action. Politics is not always the manipulations of signs, signs that change attitudes and

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actions, but sometimes one influences others to satisfy one's needs through signs. Politics, in this view, does not have to be sign manipulation, but it can be. While one might grant a certain amount of sign manipulation in political relationships in this view, sometimes people get too carried away with sign manipulation and forget about the real world. After all, we simply cannot fall into the trap of believing that changing a label for a thing changes the thing. Amitai Etzioni offers a potent critique of the political system when sign manipulation takes the place of improving the real world:

> "We natives know the Let's-Solve-a-Social Problem dance all too well. The President usually begins the ritual with a speech. He announces that he is going to slay the evil spirit and that the demon-inflicted plague will vanish. He promises: poverty will be eradicated, or the wave of crime will be turned back or pollution will be wiped out. After a great fanfare, the elders meet ceremoniously, the President asks Congress to enact a program, and a new agency comes into being. A year or so later, we hear about the new agency's performance. Things often haven't improved; in fact, the original social malady may have worsened. A few spots may experience partial remission, perhaps brought about by the agency's therapy or by spontaneous changes in society. Either way, the magicians, of course, credit their conjuring. However, most social problems do not recede at all. So the shamans prescribe more magic: they may reshuffle the agency and give it a new name and a new chief, or they may change the definition of success."

5. Politics is most usefully viewed as symbolic action. Politics, in this view, can be viewed both as power and symbolic action. However, given the majority of the people and their relationship to their government, politics is best viewed as symbolic action for most. Put in more academic language, political acts can have an instrumental and an expressive impact. For most people, in this view, politics is simply much more of an expressive, rather than instrumental, experience. One can offer quite a bit of evidence for the stance. First, it is assumed in this democracy that the people are the source of power, that they express that source of power by voting, and that voting controls government decisions. Yet, we know that voters are predominately ignorant of the issues that divide candidates and parties. We know that administrative and legislative behavior are seldom affected by election outcomes. We know that the government actually serves very few people in the sense of giving them benefits that in any way approach what they pay into the government. We know that for most people an election is a sign to express discontent, enthusiasm, and to enjoy a sense of involvement even though election outcomes have a minor effect on policy formation. We know that national elections predominately function to reinforce a sense of national identity and for those in the national government, a national election is a confirmation and reassurance of their continued self-interests. Moreover, we know that more than anything else campaigns draw attention to the importance and reasonableness of accepting public policies that have already been passed or adopted by governments. In this respect, politics is symbolic in the sense that it is a secular religion and substitute for the inability to transform the immediate environment. In this regard, for example, Nixon's recent

trip to the Soviet Union and Red China are important because of their symbolic functions--the excitement they create for the people--rather than for the impact they have had on relationships between these world powers. As a matter of fact, it is difficult to find a change in the power relations of these nations as a result of Nixon's trip but the symbolic impact of the trip is very important for the people.

6. Politics is only--it is totally--a symbolic activity.

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WAYS OF DEFINING THE TERM IDEOLOGY:

A SURVEY OF CONTEMPORARY VIEWS

1. "The science of idea." Webster's New International Dictionary, 2nd ed. (1948).

2. "The integrated assertions, theories, and aims constituting a politico-social program, often with an implication of factitious propagandizing; as, Fascism was altered in Germany to fit the Nazi ideology." Webster's New International Dictionary, 2nd ed. (1948).

3. "The ideas characteristic of a school of thinkers, a class of society, or the like." Webster's New Practical Dictionary (1953).

4. "The body of doctrine, myth, and symbols of a social movement, institution, class, or large group." The American Everyday Dictionary (1955).

5. "The science of idea; specif., a theory of the origin of ideas which derives them exclusively from sensation. Visionary theorizing. Manner or content of thinking characteristic of an individual or class; as, bourgeois ideology. The intellectual pattern of any widespred culture or movement; as, exposure to Anglo-Saxon ideology; specif., the integrated assertions, theories, and aims constituting a politico-social program, often with an implication of factitious propagandizing; as, Fascism was altered in Germany to fit the Nazi ideology." Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary (1959).

6. "The science that treats of the evolution of human ideas. The ideas or kind of thinking characteristic of an individual or group; specifically, the ideas and objectives that influence a whole group or national culture, shaping especially their political and social procedure; as, German ideology." Funk & Wagnalls New Practical Standard Dictionary (1962)

7. "During the Napoleonic Era...'ideology' came to mean virtually any belief of a republican or revolutionary sort, that is to say, any belief hostile to Napoleon himself." Henry D. Aiken, The Age of Ideology, pp. 16-17.

8. "What [Marx and Engels] ...call 'ideology' includes not only the theory of knowledge and politics, but also metaphysics, ethics, religion, and indeed any 'form of consciousness' which expresses the basic attitudes or commitments of a social class." Henry D. Aiken, The Age of Ideology, p. 17.

9. "We speak of a particular and of a total conception of ideology. Under the first we include all those utterances the 'falsity' of which is due to an intentional or unintentional, conscious, semiconscious, or unconscious, deluding of one's self or of others, taking place on a psychological level and structurally resembling lies....Since suspicion of falsification is not included in the total conception of ideology, the use of the term 'ideology' in the sociology of knowledge has no moral or denunciatory intent. It points rather to a research interest which leads to the raising of the question when and where social structures come to express themselves in the structure of assertions, and in what sense the former concretely determine the latter." Karl Mannheim, Ideology and Utopia, pp. 238-239.

10. Ideologies "are compounds of projective systems, in the interest of which empirical evidence is mobilized, and have therefore the same structure as rationalizations." Abram Kardiner and associates, The Psychological Frontiers of Society, p. 34.

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11. "Ideology is the conversion of ideas into social levers....For the ideologue, truth arises in action, and meaning is given to experience by the 'transforming moment.'" Daniel Bell, The End of Ideology, pp. 370-371.

12. "Ideology refers to a more or less institutionalized set of beliefs--'the views someone picks up.' Belief-disbelief systems contain these too but, in addition, they contain highly personalized preideological beliefs." Milton Rokeach and associates, The Open and Closed Mind, p. 35.

13. "The term ideology is used in this book, in the way that is common in current literature, to stand for an organization of opinions, attitudes, and values--a way of thinking about man and society. We may speak of an individual's total ideology or of his ideology with respect to different areas of social life; politics, economics, religion, minority groups, and so forth. Ideologies have an existence independent of any single individual; and those which exist at a particular time are results of both historical processes and of contemporary social events." T.W. Adorno and associates, The Authoritarian Personality, p. 2.

14. "I shall use the term 'political ideology' to mean a body of concepts with these characteristics:

1. They deal with questions: Who will be the rulers? How will the rulers be selected? By what principles will they govern?
2. They constitute an argument; that is, they are intended to persuade and to counter opposing views.
3. They integrally affect some of the major values of life.
4. They embrace a program for the defense or reform or abolition of important social institutions.
5. They are, in part, rationalizations of group interests--but not necessarily the interests of all groups espousing them.
6. They are normative, ethical, moral in tone and content.
7. They are (inevitably) torn from their context in a broader belief system, and share the structural and stylistic properties of that system.

Most ideologies also have these qualities:

1. They are group beliefs that individuals borrow; most people acquire an ideology by identifying (or disidentifying) with a social group.
2. They have a body of sacred documents (constitutions, bills of rights, manifestos, declarations), and heroes (founding fathers, seers and sages, originators and great interpreters).

And all ideologies, like all other beliefs, imply an empirical theory of cause and effect in the world, and a theory of the nature of man." Robert E Lane, Political Ideology: Why the American Common Man Believes What He Does, pp. 14-15.

15. "'Ideology' refers to more than doctrine. It liks particular actions and mundane practices with a wider set of meanings, and, by doing so, lends a more honorable and dignified complexion to social conduct. This view is, of course, a generous one. From another vantage point, ideology may be viewed as a cloak for shabby motives and appearances. This more generous version lays emphasis on the behavior of individuals in a setting of action-in-relation-to-principle.

'Ideology is a generic term applied to general ideas potent in specific situations of conduct: for example, not any idea, s only political ones; not any values, only those specifying a given set of preferences; not any beliefs, only those governing particular modes of thought. Because it is the link between action and fundamental belief, ideology helps to make more explicit

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the moral basis of action. It is not a vulgar description of something more noble and sacred than itself, like a cartoon of a stained glass window.

Furthermore, ideology is not philosophy. It is in the curious position of an abstraction that is less abstract than the abstractions contained within it. Powerful ideologies and creative ideologists (like religious ideas and innovative clerics) do much to enlarge the role of the individual. That is why the role of ideology is for them a way of stipulating the moral superiority of new ideas.

Political ideology is an application of particular moral prescriptions to collectivities. Any ideology can become political. Hegelianism became the 'ideological' justification for the Prussian state. Marxism-Leninism is the 'ideology' of Communist societies. Both claims to superiority lie in a presumed relationship between higher human consciousness and more evolved forms of material relationship. The ideologist is the one who makes the intellectual and moral leap forward; by virtue of his superior knowledge, his view out to prevail." David E. Apter, Ideology and Discontent, pp. 16-17.

16. "Hence I would define ideology as a logically coherent system of symbols which, within a more or less sophisticated conception of history, links the cognitive and evaluative perception of one's social condition--especially its prospects for the future--to a program of collective action for the maintenance, alteration or transformation of society." Willard A. Mullins, "On the Concept of Ideology in Political Science," American Political Science Review. p. 510.

17. An ideology is "an unconscious tendency underlying religious and scientific as well as political thought: the tendency at a given time to make facts amenable to ideas, and ideas to facts, in order to create a world image convincing enough to support the collective and the individual sense of identity. Far from being arbitary or consciously manageable (although it is as exploitable as all of man's unconscious strivings), the total perspective created by ideological simplication reveals its strength by the dominance it exerts on the seeming logic of historical events, and by its influence on the identity formation of individuals (and thus on their 'ego-strength')." Erik H. Erikson, Young Man Luther: A Study in Psychoanalysis and History, p. 20.

18. "Ideologies are action-related systems of ideas. They typically contain a program and a strategy for its realization, and their essential function is to unite organizations which are built around them. It is confusing and fails to provide the opportunity for political analysis, to call any system of ideas an ideology, such as the philosophy of Aristotle or the theology of the Old Testament. Such systems of ideas may provide the basis for an ideology, but only after being related to action in a specific sense and for a specific situation. Ideologies are sets of ideas related to the existing political and social order and intented either to change it or to defend it.... The ideas an ideology contains are as such action-related and may or may not be very true and appropriate; what makes them 'ideology' is their function in the body politic. The ideology is a sets of ideas which unites a party or other group for effective participation in political life." Carl Joachim Friedrich, Man and His Government: An Empirical Theory of Politics, p. 89.

19. "...we reserve the word ideology to refer to an alternative value structure, which becomes salient only under disequilibrated conditions and which is addressed to these disequilibrated conditions. An ideology, in this sense, may evolve into a value structure if it is instrumental in resynchronizing the system; but as an 'ideology,' it is always a challenger, an alternative

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pardigm of values. An ideology has inherent in its role of challenger certain special characteristics, some of which have been described by Parsons: 'Ideologies combine an evaluative and an empirical element in the diagnosis of social situations. Because of evaluative pressures, they tend toward selectivity and sometimes outright distortion, both in stating the case of the proponents and attacking that of the opponents. It is typical that the former are pictured as actuated by the highest of idealistic motives, while the latter are guided by the grossest forms of self interest." Chalmers Johnson, Revolutionary Change, p. 82.

20. "The nature of ideology, as we shall use the term, is suggested by the definition just given: it is a system of related beliefs about how the political world does and should operate. In part, it is a series of images that seem to describe and interpret what happens in politics from day to day. One who holds an ideology has, in effect, a series of expectations or a map in his mind, orienting him and telling him how things work. Thus, he knows where to fit facts that he perceives and how to understand their significance. It is also a series of cues for evaluation of what he sees. Such 'facts' are good or bad, or things should be done in certain ways, because of the standards or imperatives of the ideology to which he consciously or unconsciously subscribes. An ideology may be held with varying degrees of specificity and integrated--that is, interconnected explanations and interpretations already exist in their minds for nearly everything that they see or feel about politics. For others, it may be fragmented and/or not strongly felt." Kenneth M. Dolbeare and Patricia Dolbeare, American Ideologies: The Competing Political Beliefs of the 1970s, pp. 3-4.

21. "Whether a word like ideology can properly be employed in the American context depends, in part, on which of its many connotations one chooses to emphasize. Agreement on the meaning of the term is far from universal, but a tendency can be discerned among contemporary writers to regard ideologies as systems of belief that are elaborate, integrated, and coherent, that justify the exercise of power, explain and judge historical events, identify political right and wrong, set forth the interconnections (causal and moral) between politics and other spheres of activity, and furnish guides for action." Herbert McClosky, "Consensus and Ideology in American Politics," American Political Science Review, p. 362.

22. "The term 'ideology' has, historically, received somewhat different definitions, ranging from simply a 'politico-social program,' in a 1948 edition of Webster's New International Dictionary to a more complex 'organization of opinions, attitudes and values--a way of thinking about man and society.'

An ideology may be--but not not necessarily be--coherent, systematic, and rational. If it is fairly persistent and pervasive, in the sense that a particualr point of view or orientation occurs whenever an individual, group, or organization engages in action or discussion on any given subject, the bias takes on the shape of 'ideology.' The ideology may be simple and fragmentary or broad and complex. It may be 'ideology' with respect to politics, economics, religion, morality, education, money, or other subjects. With respect to politics, an ideology usually has specific implications for the following important processes, as recently set out by one prominent political scientist. Who should rule? How should rulers be slected? By what principles should they (government) operate? What reforms, if any, should society undertake? What institutions should be altered or maintained? In addition, as some writers point out, an ideology usually implies an argumentative defense of some values and opposition to others; it implicitly 'tells' people what to think and how to act; hence, it may be described as 'normative.' It also generally implies a

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particular view of reality: of what mean, society, and even the physical world are like in their nature, behavior, and relationship to one another." Alexander J. Groth, Major Ideologies: An Interpretative Survey of Democracy, Socialism, and National, pp. 1-2.

23. "Ideology is, as Daniel Bell has told us, 'the conversion of ideas into social levers.' It is, moreover, that congeries of ideas, vague, ambiguous, and often irrational, that large numbers of individuals can espouse and endorse, either in defense of or attack on the political and social milieu of which they are a part. An ideology must 'simplify ideas, establish a claim to truth, and, in the union of the two, demand a commitment to action.' Ideology seems to be a necessary adjunct of men acting in concert with one another, at least in any great numbers. Even American political parties find it necessary to use ideology in their platforms." Carl Leiden and Karl M. Schmitt, The Politics of Violence: Revolution in the Modern World, pp. 97-98.

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Given below are statements on various social problems about which we all have beliefs, opinion, and attitudes. We all think differently about each matter, and this scale is an attempt to let you express your beliefs and opinions. There is no right and wrong answers. Please respond to each of the items as follows:

Agree very strongly	3	Disagree very strongly	-3
Agree strongly	2	Disagree strongly	-2
Agree	1	Disagree	-1

For example, if you agree very strongly with a statement, you would write 3 in the left margin beside the statement, but if you should happen to disagree with it, you would put -1 in front of it. Respond to each statement as best you can. Go rapidly but carefully. Do not spend too much time on any one statement; try to respond and then go on. Don't go back once you have marked a statement.

1. Individuals who are against churches and religions should not be allowed to teach in college.
2. Large fortunes should be taxed fairly heavily over and above income taxes.
3. Both public and private universities and colleges should get generous aid from both state and federal governments.
4. Science and society would both be better off if scientists took no part in politics.
5. Society should be quicker to throw out old ideas and traditions and to adopt new thinking and customs.
6. To ensure adequate care of the sick, we need to change radically the present system of privately controlled medical care.
7. If civilization is to survive, there must be a turning back to religion.
8. A first consideration in any society is to protect property rights.
9. Government ownership and management of utilities leads to bureaucracy and inefficiency.
10. If the United States takes part in any sort of world organization, we should be sure that we lose none of our power and influence.
11. Funds for school construction should come from state and federal government loans at no interest or very low interest.
12. Inherited racial characteristics play more a part in the achievement of individuals and groups than is generally known.
13. Federal Government aid for the construction of schools is long overdue, and should be instituted as a permanent policy.
14. Our present economic system should be reformed so that profits are replaced by reimbursements for useful work.
15. Public enterprises like railroads should not make profits; they are entitled to fares sufficient to enable them to pay only a fair interest on the actual cash capital they have invested.
16. Government laws and regulations should be such as first to ensure the prosperity of business since the prosperity of all depends on the prosperity of business.
17. All individuals who are intellectually capable of benefiting from it should get college education, at public expense if necessary.
18. The well-being of a nation depends mainly on its industry and business.
19. True democracy is limited in the United States because of the special privileges enjoyed by business and industry.
20. The gradual social ownership of industry needs to be encourage if we are ever to cure some of the ills of our society.
21. There are too many professors in our colleges and universities who are radical in their social and political beliefs.
22. There should be no government interference with business and trade.

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23. Some sort of religious education should be given in public schools.

24. Unemployment insurance is an inalienable right of the working man.

25. Individuals with the ability and foresight to earn and accumulate wealth should have the right to enjoy that wealth without government interference and regulation.

26. The United Nations should be whole-heartedly supported by all of us.

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Variable: This scale measures liberalism-conservatism on a number of issues for which this attitude dimension may be relevant, including private enterprise, education, and international relations.

Description: This is a 26-item Likert scale developed through a factor analysis of 40 items which, in turn, were pared down from an original pool of over 100 items. The analysis results rpoduced four factors, two conservative and two liberal. The 13 highest loading liberal items and 13 highest loading conservative items were retained and make up the scales. Scoring is based on traditional Likert methods of assigning the individual the toal sum of responses (3 for strongly agree to -3 for strongly disagree) for each item. Items 1, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 16, 18, 21, 22, 23, and 25 are conservative items. All other items are liberal. A higher score is indicative of liberalism or of conservatism, depending on which set of items is being summed.

Reliability/Homogeneity: Split-half reliabilities of .78 for the liberalism scale and .79 for the conservatism scale are reported for 168 unidentified students. No test-retest data are reported.

Validity: No evidence bearing directly on validity is reported.

Location: Shaw, M. and Wright, J. Scales for the Measurement of Attitudes. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967, pp. 322-324.

Administration: The scale can be completed in less than 20 minutes.

Results and Comments: Probably the most interesting finding obtained in this scale is that liberalism and conservatism were isolated as separate factors in a factor analysis. The usual expection is that they fall on separate ends of the same dimension or factor. Although it is not clear whether the original author recommends treating the items as two separate scales, it is recommended that they be so treated. For analysis purposes, then, at least four groups should be distinguished: the liberal ideologues (high on liberalism, low on conservatism), the conservative ideologues (low on liberalism, high on conservatism), yea-sayers (high on liberalism, high on conservatism), and nay-sayers (low on liberalism, low on conservatism). Another interesting finding was that F-scale (authoritarianism) items loaded highly on the conservatism factor, as did acquiescence items.

Below are nine statements. Indicate if you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree with each of the statements by placing an "x" on the appropriate line.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1. I prefer the practical man anytime to the man of ideas.	____	____	____	____
2. If you start trying to change things very much, you usually make them worse.	____	____	____	____
3. If something grows up after a long time, there will always be much wisdom to it.	____	____	____	____
4. It's better to stick by what you have than to be trying new things you don't really know about.	____	____	____	____
5. We must respect the work of our forefathers and not think that we know better than they did.	____	____	____	____
6. A man doesn't really have much wisdom until he is well along in years.	____	____	____	____
7. No matter how we like to talk about it, political authority really comes not from us, but from some higher power.	____	____	____	____
8. I'd want to know that something would really work before I'd be willing to to take a chance on it.	____	____	____	____
9. All groups can live in harmony in this country without changing the system in any way.	____	____	____	____

Last four digits of your social security number: ____ ____ ____ ____

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RHETORICAL STRATEGIES AND POLITICAL POSITIONS

I. The Political Right and Left: The Concept of Drift Distinquished These Two Groups
   A., Form--the overall organization of the speech.
      1. The political right uses repetitive and qualitative forms.
      2. The political left uses qualitative and syllogistic forms.
   B. Symbolic Levels of Action--actions are developed with abstract, personal or bodily references.
      1. The political right uses abstract and personal references.
      2. The political left uses personal and bodily references.
   C. The Development of The Question--questions of policy are perceived as either questions of fact or questions of value.
      1. The political right uses or reduces questions of policy to value questions.
      2. The political left uses or reduces questions of policy to fact questions.
   D. Orientation Toward the GoodLife--the time period used to identify where the good life is.
      1. The political right looks to the past or to tradition for the good life.
      2. The political left looks to the future for the good life.
   E. Man"s Creativity in Dealing with the World--man is either active (can assert, change) and enviroment is self-caused or man is passive(non-assertive, a product) and environment is externally caused.
      1. The political right views man as passive.
      2. The political left views man as active.

II. The Political Middle and the Extremes: The Concept of Institutional Use Distinquishes These Two Groups
   A. Use of the Dramatistic Process--The dramatistic process involved a recognition that man"s environment is polluted, that he must assign guilt to deal with this pollution, that hw must then seek some method of purfication or elimination of the pollution and guilt and ultimately reach a stage of redemption where all is at rest, peace is again the order. Politicians may either use this framework directly or indirectly.
      1. The political middle uses the process indirectly.
      2. The political extremes use the process directly.
   B. Mood--an overall attitude employed in the construction of a speech.
      1. The political middle accepts the system as is,hence creating a positive mood.
      2. The political extremes refect the system as is,hence creating a negative mood.
   C. Minor Forms--Specific sections of a peice of rhetor ic can be developed by: (1). dialectic reverals--shifting one perceptional framework for another,ie, one speaker argues that the scene is most important another asserts that the principle is really most important; 2(. analogy; and (3). testimony
      1. The political middle seldom uses this forms of development .
      2. The political extremes are most likely to uses these forms of development.

III. Characteristics of Each of the Four Political Positions: The attitude to change defines each political position based upon a combinational use to drift and structure or institution.
   A. REactionary Political Position
      11. Argument from purpose

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2. Construction of a dialectic substance.
3. Focuses upon th ill (pollution) and blame (guilt) in a policy questionl
4. Cost (purification) and cure (redemption) are discussed as principles.
5. Employs strategies close tothe political right and the estreme postions.

B, Conservative Political Position

1. Argument from the "nature" of people.
2. The "heritage" or background of people is crucila in understanding how people will act--this is sometimes called "familial definitions".
3. The ill (pollution) in a policy quesrion is described as a series of acts taken upon by men.
4. The cure purification) is described by way of a principle .
5. Employs strategies close to the political right and middle positions.

C. Liberal Political Position

1. Argument from scene--the situation determines actions more than any other factor.
2. Cure (purification) is often accomplished by sacrifing others (mortification) rather than self (victimization).
3. Generally, provides the most complete plan for cure.
4. Strategies employs) close to the political le ft and middle posit ions.

D. Radical Political Position

1. Examines the scene and then focuses very strongly uponthe
2/ Orientation is extremely active--external causes.
3. Detailed treatment of the cure and cost.
4. Employs strategies close to the political left and the , extreme positions.

Image vs Issue Politics

I. Characteristics of Image Politics
   A. Politics is viewed as a science--there is extensive use of empricially derived data and the theory of the social sciences.
      a. "a science of electioneering"
      b. Procedure--the target audiences' perceptions, beliefs, and values controls the type of appeals used by a candidate and the message formats used.
   B. Use of mass media, especially television.
      1. From 1956 to 1968, money for media broadcasting quadrupled.
      2. A comparison--network time paid for in two different campaigns:

1948	1964
4 hours	4300 hours

      3. Common strategy--do whatever is necessary to get the media to cover the candidate.
      4. Impact or effect of using mass media:
         a. Provides access to all voters, not just those who support the candidate's party.
         b. Promotes pseudo-events--candidates have a tendency to pretend they are promoting a controversial issue when they know the audience already accepts it.
         c. Promotes a shift from the speech to the spot commercial:
            (1) Money for brief messages has doubled from 1964 to 1968 while funds for other types of campgian activity has remained the same.
            (2) Amount of average time for teleivision messages:

1952:	1964:
30 minutes	90% were less than 5 minutes

            (3) There were 6 million campaign commercials on television in 1968.
            (4) Format begins to control the message (Mortenson study).
            (5) Spot commerical begins to emphasize (image) personality of the candidate more than issues--MacNeil study.
            (6) Spot commerical emphasizes technique--Roger Ailes.
               (a) Spot commercial emphasizes nonverbal factors in a given message.
               (b) Spot commerical can be the basis for an entire campaign.

II. Why Some Argue for an Image Approach:
   A. People don't know the issues.
   B. People don't have information.
   C. People are random ideologically.
   D. People watch television.

III. Reactions to the Image Approach to Politics:
   A. It works.
   B. It destroys the American political system.
   C. It should emphasize image rather than issues.

IV. Predicting with the Image Approach:
   A. Marr approach
   B. Kaid-Hirch approach.

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CS 800 780

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